

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 2/24)*

Conversation No. 534-1

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 8:35 am and 8:41 am  
Location: Oval Office

An unknown person met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

The President entered at 8:41 am

Unknown item

Sanchez and the unknown man left at 8:41 am

Conversation No. 534-14

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: Between 8:41 am and 8:45 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule

Butterfield left at 8:45 am.

Conversation No. 534-2

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: 8:45 am - 9:52 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

The Pentagon Papers case

- Haldeman's conversation with Elliot L. Richardson
- The Eastern "establishment"
  - The President's experiences with the Alger Hiss case
    - Contrast between Hiss' and Whitaker Chambers' background
- Richardson conversation about Charles M. Cooke, Jr. (?)
  - Melvin R. Laird Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - Ellsworth F. Bunker cables shown to Daniel Ellsberg
  - Jimmy Doyle of the *Washington Star*
  - William P. Rogers
    - Investigation of cable leak
      - Cooke's admission of showing cable to Ellsberg
  - Ellsberg's departure from the Rand Corporation
    - Cooke
      - Access to cable from unnamed woman in the State Department
- Richardson's June 30, 1971 conversation with Cooke
  - Perception of Cooke's role
  - Cooke's position with the federal government
    - Henry A. Kissinger
- Frank [Surname unintelligible]
  - Conversation overheard at Los Angeles Rams football game in October 1970
    - Plans to leak documents via unnamed persons from Kissinger's staff at the White House

News story about the Turkish opium ban

The President's appearance at the Federal Bureau of Investigation's [FBI] academy

- Defense of J. Edgar Hoover

Howard K. Smith

- Commentary on "The Establishment"
  - New York Times*
  - The President as anti-establishment figure

Pentagon Papers case

- Action against anti-administration conspiracy
  - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Charles W. Colson
    - The President's schedule
    - Leaking of stories about opponents
    - The *New York Times*

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- John F. Kennedy
- Feasibility and timing of statement by the President
  - President's view
    - Suppression
  - Possible action
  - Ehrlichman's recommendation
  - Ellsberg's legal status
  - Ehrlichman's forthcoming conversation with Colson Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - Kissinger
  - Ehrlichman's views
  - Haldeman's forthcoming meeting with Ehrlichman, Colson, Richard A. Moore, John A. Scali, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Kissinger
- Declassification of government documents
  - Kissinger
  - Ehrlichman
    - Laird
  - John N. Mitchell
  - Laird
  - FBI
- Handling of case by someone for the White House
  - Tom C. Huston
  - Richard V. Allen
    - Henry E. Peterson
  - Comparison to the President's involvement in the Hiss case
  - Leaks
  - Hoover
  - Mitchell
  - Ehrlichman
  - Orchestration of effort to leak information
    - Purposes
      - Declassification
      - Political benefits
      - Vietnam
- Distraction from current issues
  - Focus on previous administrations
- Type of person needed to handle the case
  - John C. Whitaker
  - Qualities required
  - Huston
  - Presidential involvement
- Cooke

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Tran Ngoc Chau
- Future White House contact
- Freeze against the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*
  - Continuation
  - Backgrounders, off-the-record, personal
    - George P. Shultz
  - Access restriction to on-the-record appearances in presence of other reporters
    - Leonard Garment, William L. Safire, Raymond K. Price, Jr. 534-12 (cont.)

Unemployment statistics

- The President's conversation with Colson
- Adjustments
- Shultz
  - Seasonal adjustments
- June statistics
- Colson
  - The President's instructions on handling story
    - ABC news
    - Scali

Opium agreement with Turkey, June 30, 1971

The FBI

- The President's appearance at academy
  - Hoover
- Repression issue
  - Mitchell's attitude
  - Passing nature of issue

The Supreme Court

- Justices
- Need to change
  - Hugo L. Black, Thurgood Marshall, William J. Brennan, Byron R. White

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am

The President's schedule

- Request
- Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:18 am

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 2/24)*

[The President talked with an unknown person (Kissinger?) at an unknown time between 8:45 am and 9:18 am]

[Conversation No. 534-2A]

Schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

The President's schedule

-Meeting request by Ehrlichman

Bicentennial speech

-John K. Andrews, Jr.

-Use of the President's previous statement

-Speech language

-Number of television networks scheduled to broadcast speech

Kissinger entered at 9:18 am.

The Vietnam war

-Vietnamese

-Negotiations

-Press report

-May 31, 1971 proposal

The Pentagon Papers case

-California

-Incident at October 1970 Los Angeles Rams game

-Member of Business Executives for Peace

-Plans by unknown member of Kissinger's staff

-Alleged plan to quit staff and leak information about the war

Haldeman left at 9:18 am

-Release of classified information

-NSC control

-Contingency plans

-Laos-Cambodia contingency plans

-Haiphong Harbor

-Cooke

-Richardson

-Comparison to the Hiss case

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- Relations with Ellsberg
  - Rand Corporation
- Case of Chau in South Vietnam
  - Secret cables
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- Publication of cables by Doyle
  - Washington Star*
- Rogers
  - Concern
- Investigation of Rand Corporation
  - Ellsberg
- Richardson's defense of Cooke
- Security-clearances
- Need-to-know rule
- Kissinger's staff
  - [First name not known] Davis
  - May 14, 1969 incident

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am

Accidental summons

- Haldeman

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:23 am

The Pentagon Papers case

- Davis
  - Alleged leak of embargoed speech to journalist
- Ellsberg

Haldeman entered at 9:23 am

The Pentagon Papers case

- Ellsberg
  - Distinction between holding security clearance and need-to-know principle
  - Chau case
- Cooke, Ellsberg, Bunker
- Handling of classified information
  - Richardson
- Need for individual to be assigned to work with the President on the case
  - Ehrlichman
  - Ehrlichman, John W. Dean, III

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Comparison to Hiss case
- Ethics and lawyers
  - The Manson case
  - Mitchell
  - New York Times*
- White House publications efforts
- Brookings Institute safe
  - Break-in
  - Blame
- Cooke
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Bunker
  - Chau case
    - Cables from Bunker
    - The President's message to Ambassador Bunker
    - Washington Star* story

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Brookings Institution

- Break-in

Vietnam war

- Negotiations
  - Public reaction
  - Press
  - Conditions
    - Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - Ceasefire
  - Possible public statement
  - Bunker's knowledge of negotiations
    - David K.E. Bruce
  - Timing
  - Kissinger's schedule
  - Proposal
    - POWs
    - POW wives
  - Report from Bruce
  - Possible public release of proposal
    - Release of POWs
    - Ceasefire
    - Conditions

The Pentagon papers case

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

-Leaks

-National Security Council [NSC] staff

-Investigation

-Haig

-Wiretapping

-Issue of trust in the White House

-Haldeman, Ehrlichman

-Leaks

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

-NSC staff

-Liberals

-Theft of classified documents

-Mitchell

-Reaction

-Repression

-The Hiss case comparison

-Tom Clark

-Justice Department

-Nixon's efforts

-Use of leaks to get Hiss

-Newspaper stories contrasted with legal action in court

-Grand jury

-[Forename unknown] Murphy

-Hoover

-Ellsberg case

-Declassification

-Ehrlichman

-Opposition to Laird plan

-President's role

-White House efforts

-Cuban missile crisis

-Conspiracy

-Leaking of information

-Cooke

-Role

-Rand Corporation

-Ellsberg

-Chau case

-Bunker

-Cables

-Cooke

-Ellsberg



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Leak
- Leak by White House
  - Conspiracy
  - Other administration's involvement
- Cooke
  - Richardson's handling of case
  - Status
  - Leaks to press about involvement

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

The President talked to Haldeman at unknown time between 9:28 am and 9:52 am.

Cooke

- Removal
- Richardson
- Leaks to the press
  - Colson

[End of telephone conversation]

Haig entered at 9:39 am.

- NSC staff
  - Allegations about two unknown staff members
    - Leaking of documents against the Vietnam War
- Security of materials
  - Kissinger and the NSC staff
    - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Intellectuals
  - Eastern schools
    - University of California, Berkeley

Vietnam War

- Negotiations
  - Ziegler
- POWs
  - Haig's conversation with William C. Sullivan
    - North Vietnamese conditions
      - Thieu's Regime
- Handling
  - Sullivan
  - Ziegler

Haig left at 9:45 am.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

Foreign relations

- Briefing book
  - Public information
  - Changes in section about negotiations
  - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - The President's conversations with Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrei Gromyko Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
    - Tone and style
    - Stance
    - Philosophical angle
  - Chou En-lai's statements
    - Analysis
    - Kissinger's future conversation with Chou En-lai
    - The President's perceptions of the world
    - The President's conversations with communist leaders
      - Unnamed Greek revolutionary
        - 1947 Meeting
      - Nikita Khrushchev
      - Anastas Mikoyan
      - Frol Koslov
      - Fidel Castro
      - Nature of conversations
    - Opening Statement
    - Flexibility
  - Thought processes of foreign communists compared to current US revolutionaries

Telephone Call from William P. Rogers to Kissinger

Kissinger left at 9:52 am

Conversation No. 534-3

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: 9:54 am - 10:26 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Henry A. Kissinger.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

Vietnam negotiations

- Coordination with Paris
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

William P. Rogers

- Telephone Call to Kissinger
- Forthcoming Testimony
  - William C. Sullivan
  - Pentagon Papers
  - Vietnam negotiations

Vietnam negotiations

- Current North Vietnamese proposals
  - Sullivan
  - Nguyen Van Thieu's government
  - US stance
    - Public statement

Haig left at 9:57 am.

Foreign relations

- Forthcoming summit
  - The United States [US] and the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Communications
    - US delegation
      - The President, Rogers, Kissinger
      - State Department
      - Marshall Green
- Japan
  - Green, Peter G. Peterson
- Ambassadorial appointments
  - William J. Porter
    - Paris Peace Talks
- PRC trip
  - Size of the President's entourage
  - Size of press contingent
    - Three networks, two wire services
    - Pool reporter

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*
- Press facilities
  - Action by the PRC
- The press
  - Size
    - The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*
  - Limitations on White House press contact
    - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - Background briefings
- Size of delegation
  - Handling by the President and the Chinese
- Itinerary
  - Peking, Shanghai
  - Nature of visit
- Briefing book
  - Work by National Security Council [NSC] Staff
  - Tone
  - The President's foreign policy record
  - Vietnam war action by the US
    - Status of attempts at settlement
    - Cambodia, Laos
  - US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
    - Detente
    - Geographical interests
  - Possible agreements with the PRC
    - Nuclear weapons

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Haig entered at 10:08 am.

- Communique
- Taiwan
  - Tone
    - Spiro T. Agnew, Melvin R. Laird
  - United Nations
- Vietnam war
  - Length
- Japan
  - Tone
  - Military threat
- The Soviet Union
  - Military threat
- Handling of information

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- The Soviet Union
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    - Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
- USSR, Japan, Vietnam
- Negotiations prior to China summit
  - Prisoners of War [Pows]
  - Grain deal
  - Vietnam war settlement
- Possible agreements with the PRC
  - Arms control
    - Hotline, accidental war
    - Nuclear weapons
- Political visitors to the PRC prior to the President's trip
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
- The USSR
  - Timing of summit
  - Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy Dobrynin
  - Timing of summit in comparison to the PRC summit
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - SALT
  - Middle East
  - Caribbean
  - Berlin agreement
- Taiwan
  - Laird, Agnew
  - Nixon doctrine's aims
  - Policy during the Harry S. Truman administration
  - Owen Lattimore
- London, Paris, Warsaw
- Canada
  - Pierre Trudeau
- Taiwan
- Vietnam
- Korea

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

[National Security]  
[534-003-w002]  
[Duration: 1m 41s]

Foreign relations

- Henry A. Kissinger's forthcoming trip to Pakistan and Hill station
  - New York Times* story
    - Impact Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
- Possibility of Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan joining trip
  - Foreign secretary joining trip
- Cover story for media
  - Henry A. Kissinger illness
  - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
  - Press guidance
    - The President's approval
  - New York Times*
- Joseph S. Farland
  - Knowledge of trip
  - Henry A. Kissinger's confidence

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Foreign relations

- George H.W. Bush
- July 15, 1971 announcement
- Paris stop on Kissinger's itinerary
  - Le Duc Tho
  - Handling of proposals

Schedules of the President and Kissinger

Kissinger and Haig left at 10:26 am

Conversation No. 534-4

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 10:26 am and 10:27 am  
Location: Oval Office

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 2/24)*

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:27 am

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Conversation No. 534-5

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: 10:27 am - 11:49 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (□Bob”) Haldeman.

The President's schedule

- ACTION event
- Issues
  - Vietnam, the Pentagon Papers
- John D. Ehrlichman
  - Ongoing meeting

Charles W. Colson entered at 10:28 am

-Ehrlichman's meeting

The President's schedule

- The President's Kansas City appearance July 6, 1971
  - Nature of statement
    - Pentagon Papers case
    - Recommendations
      - John A. Scali, Richard A. Moore, Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Effect of locale
    - Prime time television coverage
  - Daniel Ellsberg
  - Forum, timing
    - Ehrlichman
  - Draft of statement about the Pentagon Papers
    - Issue of repression of the press

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- John N. Mitchell
- Patrick J. Buchanan

The Pentagon Papers case

- Coordination of investigation
  - Officer in charge [OIC] of handling case
    - Haldeman's conversation with Ehrlichman
      - Congress
        - John J. Sparkman
        - James D. McKeivitt
        - John H. Rousselot
  - White House staff
    - Need for full-time handling
      - Tom C. Huston
      - Haldeman
      - Ehrlichman
      - Colson
    - Moore, Ehrlichman
      - Legal handling
      - Mitchell
    - Ellsberg
      - Leaks to press
      - Court case
      - Colson
      - Facts

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- The Hiss case
  - Six Crises
  - Nixon's role
  - Harry S. Truman
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
    - J. Edgar Hoover
  - Comparison
    - Press
    - Colson
- White House staff oversight
  - Brookings Institute break-in
  - Melvin R. Laird
- Investigation of past administrations
  - Cuban Missile Crisis
  - Bay of Pigs
  - World War II
  - Korean War



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Embarrassing documents
- Rousselot
  - Need full-time assistance
    - Initiative
  - Ehrlichman
    - Other duties
  - Colson
- Congressional support Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - Rousselot
  - McKevitt
  - Philip M. Crane
  - John M. Ashbrook
  - Robert J. Dole
    - William E. Brock, III
- Press coverage
  - Colson's views
    - John F. Kennedy
    - Death of Ngo Dinh Diem
  - Kennedy
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- Need for coordinator
  - Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman
  - Richard V. Allen
  - Huston
    - Knowledge
    - Problems with Department of Defense
    - Work with Allen
    - White House Support
  - Huston and Allen
- Need for coordinator
  - Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman
    - Richard V. Allen
  - Need for trustworthy individual
    - Tom C. Huston
  - Possibility of Huston and Allen working together
- The President's Kansas City speech
  - Haldeman
  - Press
- Public perceptions of issue
- Lyndon B. Johnson
  - William S. White
  - Possible statement after Supreme Court decision

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- Dean Rusk's television appearance
- Maxwell Taylor's television appearance
- William B. Macomber, Jr's television appearance
  - William P. Rogers
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Martin S. Hayden
  - Classification
  - Telephone call to Macomber Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - Flag incident
- Call to Rogers
  - Forthcoming testimony
- Rusk, Taylor
- Rogers
- Legal obligations of the government
  - Court case
  - Supreme Court decision
    - Court clerks
    - Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's decision
    - Newspaper obligations
    - Irreparable damage to the nation
- Press attitude
  - Damaging effect of stories contrasted with First Amendment rights
  - Delay in Prisoners of War [POWs] return as price of publication
  - Hayden's comments
    - Quote about Stewart J. Alsop from past editorial in *New York Times*
    - Max Frankel's response
- Possible meeting with Ehrlichman
  - The President's schedule
  - Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman

[Haldeman talked with Ehrlichman at an unknown time between 10:28 am and 10:58 am]

[Conversation No. 534-5A]

Meeting in the President's office

[End of telephone conversation]

The Vietnam War

- Television debate between John O'Neill and John F. Kerry on the "Dick Cavett Show"
- Jack F. Kemp

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Buchanan
- Kemp
  - Vietnam, fact finding trip
  - [Forename unknown] Kramer [NSC], William H. Sullivan [State Department],  
[Unintelligible name]
  - White House speeches
  - Focus of material provided
  - Buchanan
- Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
  - Response by Kemp

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Ehrlichman entered at 10:58 am

- James L. Buckley's New York effort with Vietnam veterans
  - Cambodia, Vietnam
- Kemp's possible trip to Vietnam
  - Charles B. Rangel
  - Balance
- Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe's trip to Vietnam
  - Drug use among US soldiers in Vietnam
- Kemp, Rangel
- Pentagon Papers
  - Declassification response
    - Laird
    - Mitchell
    - Supreme Court decision
    - Repression argument
    - Damaging effect of publication
    - First Amendment rights
      - Effect of publication
        - Placing lives of US soldiers in jeopardy
        - Response to arguments
        - Letter to the editor
- Richardson
  - Charles M. Cooke, Jr. (?)
    - Retention in job
    - Cables leaked to press via Ellsberg
      - Ellsworth F. Bunker's cables
      - Tran Ngoc Chau Case
    - Ellsberg's security clearances
      - Rand Corporation
      - Revocation of clearances

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Brookings Institution
  - Documents
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Rand Corporation
  - Ehrlichman
  - Presidents orders
  - Declassification of documents Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
    - Laird
    - Supreme Court
    - The *New York Times*
  - Laird
    - Coordination with Congress

Manolo Sanchez (?) entered at an unknown time after 10:58 am.

Refreshments

Sanchez (?) left an an unknown time before 11:22 am.

- Declassification
  - Documents published
  - Withholding of classified information by newspapers
    - John W. Dean, III's report
    - Mitchell
- Declassification
  - January 15 National Security Study Memorandum [NSSM], Declassification group
    - Korea, World War II, Cuban crisis
      - Haig
      - Kennedy Presidential Library
      - Hyde Park (Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library)
        - Possible meeting with the President
        - The President's schedule
        - Timing of meeting
        - Publicity
- Six Crises
  - Chapter on the Hiss case
    - The President's speech in Congress
    - Harry S. Truman
      - Tom Clark
      - Alexander Campbell

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- J. Edgar Hoover
- Leak of story by Justice Department
- Bert Andrews
- Whitaker Chambers's revelation of the Pumpkin Papers
- Cooke
  - Richardson's view
  - Background
  - Views on the Vietnam War, ceasefire, and the Clark Case No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - Ellsberg's status on "need to know"
    - Classified cables
    - Rand Corporation
    - Publication of cable information in the *Washington Star*
  - Possible future response
- Declassification review group
  - NSSM
  - Staff director job
- Administration's response
- Hoover, Laird
- Cooke
  - Leak of story
  - Richardson
- Kissinger
- Laird
  - Instructions
- Draft statement
  - Buchanan's work on draft
  - Timing
    - Perceptions of issue
- Role of Department of Justice
- Moore, Kissinger
- Television show
  - Macomber and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's appearances
  - Max Frankel, Benjamin C. Bradlee
- Timing of possible statement by the President
- Buchanan video
- Presidential statement
  - Content
- Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin, Buchanan
  - Work
- Rogers
  - Forthcoming testimony
  - View

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Issue of press repression
- Conduct of the war
  - Dean Rusk, Lyndon B. Johnson
- Need for Congressional statements
  - Dole, Gordon L. Allott, Paul J. Fannin
- Statements

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:22 am

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Anatoliy Dobrynin

- Death of Soviet cosmonauts
  - The President's message
- Telephone call
  - The President's schedule

Vietnam War

- Rogers' statement
  - Negotiations
    - Nguyen Van Thieu's government
- Tone of comments
  - Congress
  - South Vietnamese government

Kissinger left at 11:24 am

Pentagon Papers case

- Coordination of effort
- Recommendations on presidential statement
  - Buchanan, Rogers, Mitchell, Laird, Moore, Scali
- Timing, forum
- The President's Kansas City appearance
- The President's San Clemente appearance
- Press conference

Ehrlichman's schedule

- Senators
- California Rural Legal Assistance [CRLA]
  - Ronald W. Reagan
  - Frank C. Carlucci

Pentagon Papers Case

- Declassification job

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Carlucci
- Compare to Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Meeting to be scheduled with Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Colson, Buchanan, and Moore
  - Rogers's view
  - Buchanan's participation
    - Memorandum
- Administration's position
  - Buchanan Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - Perceptions in the press of no White House comment
  - Rogers' role
    - Former Attorney General
- Buchanan
- Macomber
  - Written version of television comments
  - Scali's role
- Administration position
  - Wording of possible speech by the President
    - Effect
    - Alternatives
  - Perception of covering leak
  - Revelation of Kennedy-Diem information
  - Vietnam war
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Rusk, Taylor
- Rogers as spokesperson
- Charles Mc.C Mathias, Jr.
  - National Security Council [NSC] documents
  - Laird

Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 11:49 am

- Buchanan
  - Views on momentum and speaking out
- Perception of Democrats in government
  - McGeorge Bundy
  - Howard K. Smith
    - Representatives of the "establishment"
- Hiss case analogy
  - The "establishment"
  - The President's role
  - Joseph McCarthy
- Administration's position

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Need to uphold the law
- Ziegler
- Rogers
- Dean Rusk
  - Forthcoming appearance
    - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
  - President's view
  - Sincerity, decency
- [Name unintelligible]
  - Possession of documents
- Hubert H. Humphrey's statement
  - Support of release
    - Johnson administration's credibility
      - Memorandums
        - Comparison to Arthur F. Burns
      - White
- Era of permissiveness
  - Possible speech by Buchanan
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Unemployment statistics

- Scali
- Adjustments
  - Left-wing columnists
    - Wall Street
    - Stock market trends
      - John B. Connally

Pentagon Papers

- Need for White House coordinator
  - Ehrlichman
  - Importance
  - Colson
  - Huston
  - The Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] investigation
  - Defense intelligence
    - Laird
  - Huston
    - Defense Intelligence Agency [DIA]
    - Colson
      - Ehrlichman, Haldeman



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Strategy
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
  - Outside candidate
    - Friend of James L. Buckley
    - CIA
  - Authorship of books
  - Conspiracy orientation
- Huston
  - Reaction to orders not supported by him
- Allen
- Vernon A. Walters
  - Attitude
- Mitchell's attitude
- The President's expertise
- Hunt
- Declassification effort
  - Separation from conspiracy investigation
  - Rousselot

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

An unknown person [Stephen B. Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 11:24 am.

President's schedule

The unknown person [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Eighteen year-old vote  
-Vietnam

Haldeman and Colson left at 11:49 am

Conversation No. 534-6

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: 11:49 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield [Stephen B. Bull?].

The President's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

The President and Butterfield [Bull?] left at 11:49 am

Conversation No. 534-7  
Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 11:50 am and 12:06 am  
Location: Oval Office

[Stephen B. Bull] met with Joseph H. Blatchford, Thomas R. Donnelly, Jr., Charles H. Percy, Chet Holifield, Frank J. Horton, Clark MacGregor, and Arnold R. Weber; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

The President's location and schedule

[General conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 01/27/2020.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[534-007-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 27s]

Preparation for press event

Unknown person's shyness

\*\*\*\*\*

The President entered at an unknown time after 11:50 am.  
Bull [?] left at 11:51 am.

[Camera noise]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

ACTION

- Program and voluntary work
- ACTION card #1 presentation
- Future plans, Congressional action

1946 reminiscence

June 30, 1971 meeting

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- Nick Carr's father's World War II experience
- Medal of Honor

ACTION and volunteer work

- Congressional support
- Legislation

Presentation of gifts by the President

Anti-drug abuse action

- Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe

White House Conference on Aging

University Program

Blatchford et al. left at 12:06 pm

Conversation No. 534-8

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:09 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man [Alexander P. Butterfield?].

The President's schedule

- Sammy Davis, Jr.
- Membership commission on the National Advisory Board of Office of Economic Opportunity
- Arrangements for meeting

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 2/24)*

[Butterfield] left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm

Conversation No. 534-9  
Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:09 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule  
-Sammy Davis, Jr.  
-Photograph of meeting by Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins  
-James D. Hodgson-Elliot L. Richardson meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm

Conversation No. 534-10

Date: July 1, 1971  
Time: Unknown time between 12:06 pm and 12:09 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

Welfare regulation waivers  
-Forthcoming meeting with James D. Hodgson and Elliot L. Richardson  
-Purpose of meeting  
-Federal regulations  
-Ehrlichman's presence at meeting  
-Strict regulation

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 534-11

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: 12:09 pm - 1:38 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Sammy Davis, Jr., Robert J. Brown, Henry C. Cashen, and Jeffrey Donfeld; the White House photographer, members of the press and other unknown people (concl.) present at the beginning of the meeting.

Arrangements for photograph

Anecdote

Presentation of gifts by the President

- Gifts for men, women
- Golf balls
  - Dean Martin
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Golf

National Advisory Board of the Office of Economic Opportunity

- Commissioning ceremony
- Certificate

Photograph

Anecdote

Refreshment

Davis

- Purpose of meeting
- Celebrity status
  - Credibility
    - Leonard Garment
    - Drug abuse issue

Drug abuse and youth

- Effectiveness of a celebrity as spokesman
  - Comparison to ministers, teachers, judges
  - Celebrities as spokespersons

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- Athletes
  - Carl M. Yastrzemski
  - Bart Starr
  - John Mackey
- Effectiveness of arguments against drugs
  - Morality
  - Health of body and mind
  - Performers
    - John Barrymore

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

## Youth

- Need for inspiration and leadership
- Self-help
- Opportunity

## Charles B. Rangel

- The President's June 30, 1971 telephone call
  - U.S.-Turkish opium agreement
    - Rangel's recommendation
      - Black Caucus
  - Grandfather's possible reaction
    - The President's grandfather

## Opportunity in the United States

- Leadership in the U.S.
  - Middle and upper classes
  - Sources of strength in the U.S.
- Strength through adversity
  - Leo Tolstoy
    - War and Peace, Anna Karenina
  - Philosophy
    - Destructive and creative instincts with each individual
      - Sublimation of destructive instincts
        - Use of creative instincts
- Youth
  - Use of energy
    - Need to sublimate negative instincts
  - Davis' discussions with youth

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:09 pm

The President's schedule

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

-James D. Hodgson, Elliot L. Richardson

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:29 pm

Youth

- Davis' conversations
  - Use of energy
- Idealism

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Education

- Black colleges
  - Financial support
    - The federal government
- Richardson

Entertainment field

- Davis
- Bob Hope
- The President's acquaintances

Richardson, Hodgson, George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman entered at 12:29 pm

Introductions

Education

- Black colleges
  - United Negro College Fund
    - Funding performance

Willie Mays

Davis left at 12:31 pm

Davis

- 1954 meeting

Ribbon Cutting

Davis

- Membership in the "rat pack"
  - Copacabana
    - Performance with father and uncle

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

National Urban League

- Nixon as Vice President
  - Picture with waiter
- DePaul University

Davis

- Background
- Effectiveness of anti-drug message
- "David Frost Show"
- Mai Britt

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Welfare

- Federal assistance funds
- Follow-up to San Clemente meeting with Governor Ronald W. Reagan
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- California
  - Welfare laws
  - Social Security Act
  - Waiver requests
  - Medicaid
    - Payments for prescription drugs
- Work relief
  - Able-bodied welfare recipients
    - Work incentives
    - Welfare reform bill
- H.R. 1 [Welfare Reform Bill]
  - Implications of possible action
  - Effect of refusal to work by welfare recipients
  - Alternative proposals
    - Russell B. Long
  - Wage system
    - Equal pay for equal work
      - Long's proposal
      - Private sector
- Work relief
  - California
    - Equal pay for equal work
      - Impact of concept
    - Conditions
  - Public opinion
  - Reagan's reaction



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Sources of support
- Conservative, liberal reaction
  - Long
  - Reagan's preferences
  - Industry and labor reaction
  - Conservative reaction
- Waivers
  - General Accounting Office [GAO] Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
  - California waiver requests
    - George Meany
    - Political perceptions
      - Reagan's position in California
        - Referendum
        - California budget
        - Revenue sharing
        - Possible referendum
        - Effect of H.R.1 enactment
- Social Security Act
  - Section 1115 authority for waivers
    - Medicaid payments for drugs
    - New York
      - Rockefeller's proposed point system
      - Job system
  - GAO
- California
  - Work relief
  - Experimental programs
  - Reagan
  - Frank C. Carlucci
  - Payment restrictions
    - Family income levels
    - Retention of money
  - Encouragement of working
  - Funding
  - Public service
  - Appropriations
  - Provision of jobs
    - Purpose
      - Unemployment, welfare rolls
      - Veteran's preference
- New York
  - Experimental areas

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Expenditures
  - California
- Work relief
  - Massachusetts
- Unemployment rate
  - California
    - Coordination of effort
      - Amount of funding Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
        - Federal matching of funds to state expenditure
      - Reagan
        - Possible meeting to brief governor
          - Richardson
          - Ehrlichman
            - The President's trip to San Clemente
            - Discussion with Edwin Meese, III
    - State Supreme Court
      - Effect on compliance problems
      - Correlation of cost-of-living increases to benefit increases
      - Enjoinder against enactment of provision

Richardson

President's schedule

- Steel strike

Ehrlichman and Richardson left at 1:12 pm.

Unemployment rate

- Pattern
  - Milton Friedman's theory
    - Arthur F. Burns' memorandum
- Beginning of recovery period
  - Gross National Product [GNP]
  - Leading indicators
- Drop
  - Prediction of timing
- Nationwide trends
- Total rate versus insured rate
- Breakdown
  - Youth
  - Married men
  - Decrease in teenage rates

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Seasonal adjustments
  - Factors
    - Number of men called into military service
- Rate of decrease
- Effect of Defense Department cutbacks
- Seasonality
- Private sector expansion
  - Statistics
  - Youth entry into market
- Burns

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Labor issues in the steel industry

- Talking paper
  - Forthcoming meeting
- Focus of White House effort
  - Industry, labor
  - Activist role
    - Avoid strike
- Steel industry's hard-line stance
  - National interest argument
- Collective bargaining
- Unions
  - I[lorwith] W. Abel
- Economic impact
  - Recovery
  - Non-inflationary settlement
- Pension issue
- Impact of meetings, negotiations
  - Recognition of problems
    - Import controls
- Long-term and short-term effects
- Format of possible meeting
  - The President's role
    - Schedule
      - Shultz's conversation with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Paul W. McCracken, Herbert Stein
  - Nathaniel Samuels
  - J. Curtis Counts, Willie J. Usery
  - Compartmented format
  - The President's role
    - Emphasis on the national interest
      - Importance of settlement

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Effect of lengthy strike
    - James M. Roche
  - Constructive approach
    - Contrasted with John F. Kennedy
    - Steel crisis of 1961
    - Shultz's recent meeting with Jack Greenberg
      - Education meeting
      - Approach
  - Style of leadership
  - Preparation of briefing paper by Shultz
- Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Shultz and Hodgson left at 1:38 pm

Conversation No. 534-12

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:38 pm and 2:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield at an unknown time after 1:38 pm

The President's schedule

- Camp David meeting
- John K. Andrews, Jr. speech draft for July 3, 1971

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 1:38 pm; Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm

Declassification project in response to Pentagon Papers case

- Haldeman's conversation with Richard V. Allen
- Recommendations

July 3, 1971 speech draft

- Sentiments
- Andrews
  - Draft compared to William L. Safire's effort
- 1969 Bicentennial Commission remarks

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:38 pm

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

Request for copy of 1969 remarks

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm

Pentagon Papers case

- Declassification project head Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
- Allen's recommendations
  - United States Information Agency [USIA] deputy general counsel
  - Background
- Charles W. Colson's recommendation
  - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
    - Allen's lack of knowledge
    - Knowledge within intelligence community
  - Possibility of assignment of head of project to work under Colson
    - Tom C. Huston
      - Approach to work
    - Scope of project
      - Need for commander
        - Allen
        - Colson
- Hunt
  - Outside consultancy
  - USIA employee
- Conspiracy orientation in outlook
  - Dual nature of project
- Resistance by Departments of State and Defense to declassification effort
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff opposition
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - World War II, Korea, Cuban missile crisis documents
- Alternatives
- Steering committee
  - Allen's suggestions
  - Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
  - John N. Mitchell
  - John G. Tower
    - Other roles
- Frank H. Ichord's possible role
  - Congressional Committee hearings on conspiracy
    - Hiss case
- Conspiracy investigation

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- Mitchell's views

- Effectiveness as Attorney General

- Richard G. Kleindienst

- Declassification

- Tonkin Gulf, Dominican crisis, Cuban missile crisis, Berlin crisis of 1961, Bay of Pigs, U-2 shootdown, Berlin crisis of 1958, Lebanon, Korea, Berlin blockade, Berlin wall

- Focus on incidents

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- Results and benefits

- Public announcement

- Ehrlichman

- Hunt

Unemployment

- George P. Shultz's analysis of drop

- James D. Hodgson

- Effect of technical factors

- Public perceptions of economic conditions

- Attempts to keep below six per cent

- Statistics

- Arthur F. Burns' memorandum

- Recommendation of new economic policy

- Burns

Pentagon Papers case

- Leaks

- Efforts to combat leaks

- Allen's perceptions

- Fred J. Russell

- Congress

- John E. Hunt

- Background

- Samuel L. Devine

- Russell

- Controllability

- Further consideration of Hunt

- Colson

- Haldeman's meeting

- Possible Presidential statement

- John D. Ehrlichman's conversation with William P. Rogers

- Patrick Buchanan's recommendations

- Call to John B. Connally

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 2/24)

The President's schedule

-Departure for Executive Office Building office

-Drop-by in Roosevelt Room

-Property Review Board meeting

-F. Edward Hebert, Leslie C. Arends, Kenneth J. Gray, Samuel S. Stratton

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:38 pm

Gift presentation items for Congressmen, wives

Arrangements

The President and Haldeman left at 2:05 pm

Conversation No. 534-13

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:05 pm and 2:11 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm

Schedule

Oval Office

-The President

-Old Executive Office Building Office

Meeting

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

The President's location

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:11 pm.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 2/24)*

The President's schedule

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 2:11 pm]

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)